THE THREAT TO SENATOR GEORGE BY MALCOLM PURCELL

THE Nation

August 6, 1955
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*Hiroshima: Ten Years Later*

# DEATH IN THE RAIN

*by Yasuhi Nishiwaki*

# LESSON OF HIROSHIMA

*by Tomie Mochizuki*

AUG 8 1955

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The Film You Won't See *Keith Irvine*
Restive Malaya *Sam A. Jaffe*
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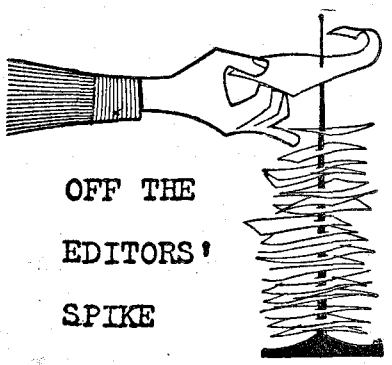


● THE SPIKE this week is heavy with an accumulation of civil-liberties items.

Can a state penalize indirectly, as by the establishment of an informal blacklist, citizens whose only offense has been the invocation of a right guaranteed to them by the United States Constitution? In an extremely important advisory opinion, the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts have ruled that such legislation would be invalid. This spring the Massachusetts legislature asked the court's opinion on a proposed act which would make it mandatory for any university, college, or school—private or public—to discharge any professor, instructor, or teacher who had refused "at a duly constituted trial, or at certain hearings or inquiries, to answer certain questions pertinent to his membership in the Communist Party." The proposed act, in the opinion of the court, would be unconstitutional. The court's comments are worth recording:

". . . It must be clear that if the General Court should pass a purported statute to the effect that no teacher should avail himself of his right not to testify or furnish evidence against himself, such purported statute would be in direct contradiction of the constitutional provisions and would be void. So also would be a purported statute that should seek to penalize as by fine or imprisonment a person who should exercise his constitutional right. It is true that the proposed statute does not quite do either of the things just suggested. But it does something of comparable effect. It makes an indirect but hardly less serious attack upon the constitutional right. It attempts to say to any teacher in a college or school, whether public or private, that if he exercises his right he shall be deprived of his employment and means of livelihood. It would also bar him from any future employment as a school teacher, since if he should obtain such employment, the statute would again operate to compel his discharge. This would be true even though otherwise he might find some school or college that had faith in him and would be willing to employ him. These consequences would be visited upon a person who had committed no crime, but had merely availed himself of his constitutional right; for it cannot be too often emphasized that the exercise of the privilege not to incriminate oneself does not prove guilt. . .

"The proposed statute would penalize the exercise of the constitutional right, and would introduce a form of compulsion in violation of the constitutional provisions. . . . It would seem that the proposed statute would practically destroy the constitutional right of certain persons to engage in the occupation of teaching for no other reason than that they had exercised another constitutional right—the right not to incriminate themselves. . . . If it is constitutional to prohibit a teacher from private employment on the ground that he has availed himself of his right not to incriminate himself, it would seem that it would be equally constitutional to prohibit on the same ground a lawyer from practicing his profession, or a reporter or editor from being employed by a newspaper or magazine, or perhaps even a clergyman from entering into an engagement with a church. Perhaps these and many other occupations have almost, if not quite, as great opportunity to influence public opinion as have teachers. The Supreme Court of the United States in a somewhat different connection said, 'If the state may compel the surrender of one constitutional right as a condition of its favor, it may, in like manner, compel a surrender of all. It is inconceivable that guarantees embedded in the Constitution of the United States may thus be manipulated out of existence.'"

Clearly this opinion goes to the heart of the most urgent aspect of civil liberties in the United States today. To say that a citizen has a constitutional right but that he may exercise it only under penalty of forfeiting his right to earn a living, is to subvert, in the most literal sense, the Constitution of the United States.

● Once sanctioned by government, informal blacklists have a tendency to spread. The witch hunt began with the blacklisting of "reds," "Communists," and "Fifth Amendment Communists." Now Georgia's Attorney General has announced that he will seek the discharge of any public-school teacher who is a member of or contributor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. T. L. Carlton, a member of the staff of the American Federation of Labor on assignment in Atlanta, has pointed out, quite correctly, that if such an order is valid, the state could "bar from employment any person for no other reason than that the individual belonged to a certain church, club, fraternal order, or labor organization operating under democratic principles. The whole concept of democracy and freedom as we understand it is at stake." In another case, in which the A. F. of L. is also vitally interested, a similar use has been made of the blacklist in an effort to undermine the tenure and constitutional rights of teachers. In California, the State Federation of Teachers is up in arms over the discharge of Mae Galarza, wife of Ernesto Galarza, vice-president and research and educational director of the Agricultural Workers Union—A. F. of L.—from the public schools of San Jose. The principal "charge" against Mrs. Galarza seems to be that since she is the wife of a well-known labor leader she might be inclined to reflect labor attitudes in the classroom. In both these cases, as in the case of the sorely harassed American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, a large number of whose members have been subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities for the offense of having incurred the ill will of that self-designated inquisitorial organization, AWARE, the American Federation of Labor now finds itself in the position of having to resist witch-hunting pressures which threaten the existence of the unions under attack.

● Through a slow but inexorable process, ever-larger sections of the American public are being taught from harsh experience that the rights guaranteed by the first ten amendments are cognate, interrelated, interdependent rights, no one of which can be destroyed without weakening the entire constitutional structure of which they are the main girders. Once government is permitted to blacklist citizens, as in the listing of "subversive" organizations, the practice spreads. States, counties, and cities are copying the federal practice and private organizations, from business corporations to semi-public institutions, begin to adopt the same methods and practices. Tenants in federal-housing projects, citizens called for jury duty, veterans applying for tax-exemption, and applicants for employment in many industries, are required to affirm under oath that they have never belonged to any organization on "the list," and the list, in turn, grows like the green bay tree. The courts are

(*Continued on Page* 124)

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

# The Shape of Things

## How to Stop Demagogues

Judge Edward Weinfeld's decision dismissing the contempt-of-Congress indictments against Corliss Lamont, Abraham Unger, and Albert Shadowitz represents a stunning victory for civil liberties. A section of the press seems determined to minimize the scope of the victory by headlining the misinformation that the decision was based on a "technicality." There is nothing technical or formal about the point on which Judge Weinfeld dismissed the indictments. The Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations was, he found, never authorized to conduct hearings of the kind that resulted in these contempt proceedings. Challenged repeatedly by Philip Wittenberg, Mr. Lamont's counsel, to produce evidence to show such authorization, government counsel could not produce it. What this means is that Senator McCarthy's free-swinging assault on civil liberties was not only ruthless and brutal but lawless as well. Specifically it means that the other contempt cases arising out of McCarthy's hearings must also be dismissed. Great credit goes to the three individuals who brought about this test by directly and courageously challenging the subcommittee's authority on grounds other than the Fifth Amendment. *The Nation* takes special satisfaction in Judge Weinfeld's decision by reason of the fact that it was Philip Wittenberg's article in this publication (How To Stop the Demagogues, May 9, 1953; see, also, Challenge to McCarthy by Corliss Lamont, December 12, 1953), which initiated discussion and interest in the possibility of testing the committee's powers under the separation-of-authority doctrine and under the First Amendment.

## "No Specific Therapy"

Reports reaching us from Tokyo of the international conference of scientists held there in early June on the effects of atomic radiation underscore the importance of Dr. Nishiwaki's article on page 111 of this issue as well as our review of "Hiroshima Diary" (page 117). The Tokyo conference was sponsored by a group of private Japanese physicians headed by Dr. Hideo Kumabe, director of the Japan Tuberculosis Prevention Association, and Dr. Masao Tsuzuki, director of the Japan Red Cross Hospital. In attendance were scientists from Belgium, West Germany, Chile, Italy, Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union. The American scientists scheduled to participate did not attend. The fact that press coverage was restricted to the eight largest Japanese papers, Japan's Kyodo News Service, and the government radio station would indicate that the conference was primarily scientific and that attempts to turn it to propaganda purposes were discouraged. The agenda included visits to *Fukuryu-Maru,* the vessel showered with radioactive dust from Bikini, the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, and tours of Nara, Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki. At the conclusion of the sessions, a preliminary report was adopted which treats the experience of the twenty-three members of the crew of the fishing boat as merely an incident in the widespread contamination, described by Dr. Nishiwaki, that came in the wake of the Bikini blast. The radioactivity of the rain resulted in measurable contamination of many kinds of crops in different parts of Japan, including tea, maize, and garden vegetables. On the basis of the Japanese experience, the report states, there is simply no way by which adequate medical and auxiliary personnel can be provided to care for the victims of a major atomic blast: "Even for the adequate treatment of the 34,000 surviving cases of burns caused by the old-fashioned bomb used at Hiroshima, thousands of doctors and nurses would have been required." On the major problem of radiation, the report is grimly simple: "There is no specific therapy for radiation sickness. Treatment is only supportive and symptomatic."

## Washington's Indispensable Man

Before accepting Malcolm Purcell's article on the political catastrophe that impends in Georgia (page 115), we checked his analysis and conclusions with several experienced Southern journalists and politicians. We regret to report their agreement that if an election were to be held in Georgia this year, Herman Talmadge would defeat Senator George for the Democratic nomination. In view of the respect that Senator George universally enjoys, and his long tenure of office, this seems hard to believe. But we are assured that the danger is real.

At the moment, Senator George is the indispensable man in Washington. It has been his influence and initiative, rather than the President's or Mr. Dulles's, which has given a new affirmative emphasis to American policy. He is indispensable not merely because of his great influence in the Senate; he has a shrewd insight into foreign affairs, a canny sense of timing, and the

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ability to identify the basic issues in any situation. An honest man, he has never given the slightest indication of believing that guile and deception were essential to the success of any statesmanlike endeavor. He is, moreover, profoundly devoted to the cause of peace and conveys to others a sense of this conviction.

In a word, Senator George would make an excellent Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles's outlook, perspective, and style are not attuned to the post-Geneva world; his methods are as obsolete as his values. The difference between the two men is not in the degree of their conservatism—both are profoundly conservative—but in their markedly different attitudes toward American policy and how foreign affairs should be conducted. It would be unfortunate if Talmadge were to replace Senator George in the Senate but Georgia's and the nation's loss could be offset if Georgia's elder statesman were to stay on in Washington as Secretary of State. To be sure, the election is a year removed but time will not remedy the limitations and inadequacies of Mr. Dulles. Senator George has the qualities of a conservative statesman of the old school; Mr. Dulles has the qualities of a shrewd corporation lawyer.

## The Balloting in Malaya

The Alliance Party has won the first national elections ever held in the Federation of Malaya (see Sam A. Jaffe's article on page 114 of this issue). In a quiet and orderly balloting, the Alliance seems to have walked off with most of the fifty-two seats that have been set aside for elected members in the ninety-eight-member Federal Legislative Council. On December 25, last year, *The Nation* carried an article by T. H. Tan, the distinguished Malayan journalist and secretary of the Malayan Chinese Association, which dealt with the background and composition of the Alliance party. The Alliance is a coalition of Malays, Chinese, and Indians, and came into being as a result of the merger of the Malayan Chinese Association (M. C. A.) and the United Malay National Organization (U. M. N. O.). Efforts to disrupt the coalition have been numerous but, as the results of the election demonstrate, the party has survived the first test of the unity of Chinese and Malayan elements upon which it is based. Its success augurs well for the growth of political stability in Malaya.

## Office Note

One day last month Gladys Whiteside retired as copy editor of *The Nation*, a position she had held since January 1, 1930. Her long tenure is a measure, but a most inadequate one, of Mrs. Whiteside's remarkable service to this publication. On a weekly with a small staff, the copy editor's position is pivotal: editing copy, reading proof, making up the paper, seeing each issue through the press. Mrs. Whiteside served as editorial midwife for 1,300 issues of *The Nation*. She is hereby




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exonerated, formally and forever, from responsibility for any typos, boners, or howlers in the issues making up the volumes of *The Nation* for the quarter century of her faithful and efficient service. The desk and chair of Gladys Whiteside remain untenanted in this office; we can find no one around here audacious enough to use either.

## For the Tourist

THE UNITED STATES is well on its way to being the most hep on Reds of any country in the world. Last December a patriotic and philanthropic citizen of Ithaca, New York, founded the Ithaca Reading Room Against Communism for the convenience of anyone who wanted to find the works of Senators McCarthy and Jenner, Messrs. Merwin K. Hart, John T. Flynn, David Schine, Roy Cohn, William F. Buckley, Jr., *et al* all in one convenient place. In May, two retired F. B. I. officials announced plans for a similar library on a grander scale to be opened soon in Washington, D. C. This one will include the works of real live Communists, like the *Daily Worker*. In June the New York *Times* announced that the large Ringling mansion in Oak Ridge, New Jersey, once the winter headquarters of the Ringling circus, will be taken over by a Roman Catholic organization as a kind of watch tower from which to observe events behind the iron curtain.

It is to be hoped that this trend will break through its present confines in the East and that ultimately no summer tourist will ever be more than a few hours' drive from a clean, well-kept anti-Communist reading room approved by the U. A. C. (Un-American Activities Committee.) There might even be developed anti-Red drive-in libraries manned by Hollywood starlets chosen by AWARE, that self-appointed guardian of radio and TV political morals. Imagine the joy of having ready to hand, after a hard day's drive, a copy of "Witness" or a whole three months' supply of Westbrook Pegler with which to relax! The idea so fascinated us that we asked Douglas F. Dowd, an occasional contributor to *The Nation,* who teaches at Cornell University at Ithaca, to drop into the Reading Room Against Communism to see how this prototype is making out.

"THE library," Mr. Dowd reports to us, "is staffed by volunteers. On the day of my visit the staff consisted of two pleasant elderly people who gave gracious assistance when I asked for it. The tables and shelves are packed with a really impressive array of right-wing literature through which runs an insistent negative note: against taxes, against T. V. A., against F. D. R., against (even more) Eleanor, against Eisenhower, against public spending, against most schools. There is even material against communism.

"When I asked the attendants how the library was doing I was told, in a genuinely wistful tone, 'People haven't shown as much interest as we had hoped. Guess these things take time to catch on.' As I left I was asked to sign their register. In the preceding three weeks there had been only ten entries, including my own. One of the attendants apparently sensed that I was counting the entries, and she said—as much to herself as to me, I thought—'Some people forget to sign their names.'"

Ah well, it is summer and the cold war is thawing just a little. Maybe the whole idea ought to be postponed for a little while.

# GENEVA BALANCE SHEET

## Weighing The Results . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

*Geneva*

THE BIG FOUR conference has brought increased prestige to this city, home of the European headquarters of the United Nations and the perennial site of important diplomatic developments. Geneva can boast that it brought peace to Indo-China, and a turning point in the cold war, all within a year; and in October it will again play host to the Big Four—this time at the foreign ministers' level—at which further dramatic developments are within the realm of the possible. This city was chosen, too, as the site for the meeting of Ambassadors from the United States and Communist China, an event which many experts here believe may be the beginning of an Eastern rapprochement for which, if it comes to pass, Geneva must be given a very large share of credit.

There is no doubt that the Swiss atmosphere has a calming effect on diplomats, which is why they like to come here when they are of a mind for constructive work. When, during the night hours of July 22 and for a good part of the following day, the four foreign ministers appeared deadlocked on all important issues, there was a minimum of excitement. I watched carefully during that period of relative uncertainty; I say "relative" because it seemed to me preposterous that after the good will and cordiality shown around the "summit" table the conference would be permitted to go to smash in the hands of subordinates. The joy of the enemies of the conference—the representatives of the Adenauer and the Franco press, for example—



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Conrad in the Denver Post

*Something new has been added!*

lasted exactly fourteen hours. Then there came word to the press room: "Agreement has been reached on all points; in a few minutes the Geneva conference will be history."

So the continuation of negotiations to reduce world tensions was assured. Perhaps the most unrestrained comment came from Leonid Ilyichev, Soviet press chief, who preceded his final briefing with the remark, "The conference has come to a victorious end." Certainly the directives given to the foreign ministers for their October meeting were clear and precise, yet elastic enough to permit of hope that the discussions on European security, Germany, disarmament, and the development of contacts between East and West will come to an equally "victorious end" sooner or later.

MANY diplomats permanently stationed here are of a mind to put the scheduled talks between China and the United States as one of the most outstanding achievements of Geneva. "Surely," they argue, "had the Geneva meeting been conducted in a less cordial atmosphere, the chances for a rapprochement between Peking and Washington might have disappeared altogether." Of course, the Far East was not on the Geneva agenda, but then some of the most important results of the conference lay in the field of intangibles which had little to do with the actual agenda. For instance, in the conference aftermath diplomats are discussing the restrained manner in which the Big Four conducted their debates—for the first time in years of East-West meetings disagreement was not accompanied by charge and counter-charge of malice, bad faith, or intrigue. It was perhaps this fact which led George Bidault, former French premier and foreign minister, to write in *Le Journal de Geneve:* "The cold war is buried." The comment is the more remarkable because it comes from one who, during his tenure in office, never did much to hasten its burial.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that it was at Geneva that Eden proffered to Kruschchev and Bulganin an invitation to visit Great Britain next spring. The Russians' acceptance electrified not only the House of Commons but all of Europe. For the first time since before World War II the heads of the Russian state are prepared to meet with the West on the West's home ground.

Another of the conference's constructive aspects was the emphasis put on disarmament. In this respect the delegates were encouraged by the turn for the better which had taken place in the recent debates of the U. N. disarmament subcommittee in London. President Eisenhower's dramatic offer to exchange the freedom of the skies with the Soviet Union caught the world's imagination, but other suggestions were also advanced which in the end may prove more fruitful. All plans, including President Eisenhower's, will be on the agenda as the subcommittee reconvenes in New York on August 29—in plenty of time to have a report ready for the foreign ministers' meeting in October.

THERE WERE those here who regretted that the President's suggestion did not provoke a prompt acceptance by the Russians and received only perfunctory treatment in the Soviet press. But experienced diplomats doubt the practicality of the proposal even though they are inclined to evaluate it highly in psychological terms as a moving and sincere gesture of good will. Even so pro-American a newspaper as the London *Daily Telegraph* expressed strong misgivings. "[The President's] plan has nothing to do with disarmament," the newspaper wrote editorially. "Even if it were accepted by the Russians—which seems unlikely—it would be of limited practical importance. The disadvantage of reaching for the skies is that you are satisfied with nothing else." Some British delegates emphasized that the President's was "an American, not a Western, offer," and they remarked somewhat ruefully that it seemed to have overshadowed the more modest but more realistic proposals advanced by Sir Anthony Eden aimed at inspecting armaments and creating a demilitarized zone in the heart of Europe.

Heading the negative aspects of the conference, of course, was the impasse on German unification and the problem of European security. While the final directive achieved a compromise by giving both subjects equal priority on the foreign ministers' agenda, Marshal Bulganin made it quite plain, before he left Geneva, that the Kremlin remained as firm as ever in its determination to reject any plan that would permit the entry of a unified Germany into the Western military coalition. Perhaps the Soviet Premier was strengthened in his stand by reports which spread through Geneva of an off-the-record interview here which Felix von Eckardt, West Germany's observer at the United Nations, gave to a restricted group of pro-Adenauer newspapermen. In three years, Mr. Eckardt is reported to have said,



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the Federal Republic will be so strong militarily that it will be able itself to take care of the Russians if they persist in sabotaging unification.

IT MAY be useful at this point to summarize the three basic positions on the German problem which in one form or another will be advocated at the October meeting of the foreign ministers:

*The Western thesis.* Washington, supported in varying degrees by London and Paris, is demanding unification of Germany immediately on the basis of free elections. This unified Germany would be free to choose membership in NATO—i.e., military alliance with the West. Few doubt that a Unified Germany would so choose, at least so long as Chancellor Adenauer remains at the helm of government.

*The Soviet thesis.* The division of Germany should be maintained until a collective system of European security can be established with the participation of all the states of Europe as well as of the United States. Pending the setting up of such a system, which it is admitted would take considerable time, there should be a transition stage during which peace would be secured through the signing of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the signatories of the Pact of Warsaw.

*The Neutralist thesis.* Germany should be unified under conditions precluding its membership in any bloc, East or West. This was the condition established for East-West agreement on the independence of Austria, and at one time reflected the Kremlin's own attitude on Germany. There will be no real spokesman for the neutralist program at the foreign ministers' conference but there is widespread popular support for it in Western Europe, especially in France, and it will unquestionably exert some influence on the course of the debate.

While these represent the basic divergencies on the solution of the German problem, other suggestions have been advanced which offer hope of ultimate compromise. The British for instance are less wedded than the Americans to the advisability of pressing for "broad" resolutions of the vexing issue. They advocated at Geneva and no doubt will continue to advocate a step-by-step approach. They argued, as an example, for the possibility of a narrow demilitarization zone in a unified Germany which could serve as a buffer between the two blocs. They have also argued in favor of a collective-security pact to which the signatories would be the major states of Europe rather than all the European states.

In the balance, Geneva comes out very well. It has put new heart in those who believe that peace can be achieved through negotiation and it will encourage them to renew their pressures when the foreign ministers meet here in October in an attempt to translate promise into fulfillment.

# THE FILM YOU WON'T SEE

## Unofficial Censors at Work . . . *by Keith Irvine*

THE lights go out. The projector hums, and the screen comes alive. Strange images appear, jumbled together. Curses are hurled as a jeep rushes down a tropical street, veering round a corner in a shower of mud. The dangling legs of a hanging man are seen. A naked little boy, with finger in mouth, stares innocently. There has been an accident of some kind. People run. A mestizo woman harangues an angry crowd. Somebody has been killed. An old man is struck on the mouth with a rock. There is talk of trade unions, homosexuality, oil fires, life and death. What are we viewing? A surrealist film? Shots taken with a concealed camera? Reflections of the ferment in South America? No, this is a special presentation of scenes cut from the film "Wages of Fear" before it was distributed in the United States.

"Wages of Fear," based on a novel by Georges Arnaud, was made by the French director Henri Georges Clouzot. It was released in Europe in 1953 and carried off the Grand Prix at the Cannes film festival. In 1954 the British critics chose it as the film of the year. It tells of a nightmare drive by four drivers in two trucks, each carrying a load of nitroglycerine, over three hundred miles of rough Venezuelan roads. Because the danger is so great, each driver is to be paid $2,000 at the end of the journey—if he reaches the end. The film is remarkable for the high tension which Clouzot generates and inducts into his audiences. It deals with the metamorphosis of human personality under the stress of prolonged and mortal fear. In developing this situation Clouzot has gone as far as any artist can go in revealing the totality of man's condition.

"Wages of Fear" was shown in this country early in the year, but it was not the film that Clouzot made. It was a mutilated version of that film —no less than twenty-two minutes of essential action had been cut. What is left is still a gripping thriller, but the qualities which evoked the admiration of audiences abroad have been excised.

The most significant fact about the censoring of "Wages of Fear" is that the censor was not responsible. He did snip out two shots—one of a nude woman in a shower who moves a towel to find a scorpion; one, following a moment of indescribable tension, of the drivers urinating in a crater after they had blown a rock from their path. But the distributors made the main cuts. Having heard that the film was "anti-American," that it dealt with homosexuality, that it expressed "dangerous

*KEITH IRVINE is editor of a bimonthly newsletter,* Africa Today.



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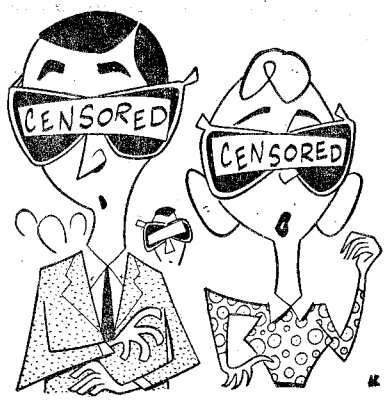
thoughts," they decided it must be "tightened up a little." Unfortunately, in the "tightening" process, the essence of the film was strangled. This type of censorship is obviously worse than one imposed by officialdom. It is censorship inspired by fear itself.

The cuts are revelatory because they were of scenes representing aspects of life which are approached directly abroad but from which our society tends to avert its eyes. What aspects are these? What are we hiding from ourselves?

The most obvious—and in a sense the most innocuous—object of the cutter's attentions was what we are wont to refer to as "sex." In the version shown here the figures on the screen never transcend the bounds of conventional filmic amorality. Yet it was precisely because Clouzot went beyond these bounds to include fresh areas of reality that his work gained its reputation for unusual sincerity.

More symptomatic is the removal of the social dimension. Shots establishing the poverty of the indigenous population have been cut; we do not see the naked child, and our attention is diverted from the unpaved streets and the squalor. Poverty appears only in glamorized form—as in the cafe which, deprived of the full background, generates merely an atmosphere of romantic exoticism in which any would-be Steinbeck or Hemingway could safely go slumming without modifying his outlook on the world. Similarly, in the mutilated version the truckdrivers are just unemployed drifters, for the sequences that showed they were not responsible for their fate have been deleted. They are simply bums out of work in a Latin American town. In the original, however, they are men out of work because the oil company has taken over the port—in return for a large sum of money which the local government has misappropriated.

Most typical of all is the elimination of references to trade unions. That "the company" and "the union" are groups with conflicting interests is evidently a controversial concept and therefore an invitation to the scissors. It seems, moreover, that "the company" should never be placed in a position where its actions may be unfavorably interpreted. Thus the comment made at a board



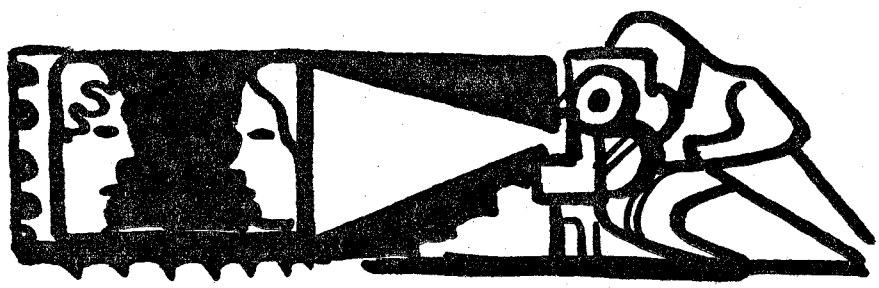

meeting that "those bums don't have any union. . . . Besides, they'll work for peanuts" was presumably too indigestible for our delicate constitutions and was removed from the record.

The deletions have also affected the portrayal of our standing abroad. Anything which hints at friction between the local population and "the company" is not for general release. That explains the cutting of the scene in which the woman harrangues the crowd and the sequences of incipient rioting after news comes that natives have been killed or hurt in the explosion which starts the oil fire. The cutter's eagerness to perpetuate an autosuggested sense of security is reminiscent of the haste with which the American engineer in Arnaud's original novel works to repair his car radio so that his contact with a safe outside world will blot out the hostile world immediately around him. The moment that the radio stopped, reality came bursting in.

Aesthetically also the film has been seriously damaged. To cut it down to the level of commercial entertainment, its philosophy and its insights into character have been amputated, leaving no more than sheer physical suspense. Bimba, the homosexual German who fought in the Spanish Civil War, remains a hero but is stricken speechless. One character—a young Italian who hangs himself after being tricked out of the high-paid driving job—vanished from the film entirely. Another, Mario, appears to American audiences as a strong silent man who will push on to the goal come hell or high water. No hint is given of the remorse which in the original film causes him to hesitate and stop, at the worst place on the road, after the front wheels of the truck have passed over his mate's leg. Joe, the mate, apparently dies as a result of the injury. Yet the main philosophical message of Clouzot's film is that Joe gives way to death because, unlike the three others, he has not the strength to impose his own purpose upon a purposeless universe.

"Wages of Fear" has been called anti-American because it shows the friction between an American company on foreign soil and the local population. Of course other than American companies find themselves in that kind of situation, and Clouzot has dealt with the problem without prejudice. Take his attitude toward O'Brien, the head of the American company in the South American town. O'Brien is not a propaganda figure; he is a man who tries to be both loyal to his company and fair to his employees. Seeing the necessity of transporting the nitroglycerine to the oil field, he does not boggle at the thought of sending men to their probable deaths any more than does a commander in battle. On the other hand he makes every effort to warn them of their danger and to insure their safety along the way. Those who condemn the film as "anti-American" are avoiding consideration of the real problem it poses.

The original version of "Wages of Fear" contained truths which for the sake of American security should be cried from the rooftops, not repressed. The cutting of the film was no doubt an instinctive reaction—like that of the mythical ostrich which buries its head in the sand. But how long can we afford to play ostrich? How long before we are forced to come up for air?





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# DEATH IN THE RAIN

## A Report from Japan . . *by Yasuhi Nishiwaki*

[*The date of this issue of* The Nation—*August 6—marks the tenth anniversary of Hiroshima. The following article by a prominent Japanese scientist and the review of "Hiroshima Diary" which will be found on page 117 are therefore particularly timely. Dr. Nishiwaki is on the faculty of the Department of Biophysics of the Osaka University School of Medicine and his article first appeared, in somewhat different form, in the Bulletin of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, published in London.*

The Nation *intends to bring to its readers as often as possible similar authoritative comment on the dangers inherent in the continued testing of nuclear and thermonuclear bombs.*—THE EDITORS.]

*Osaka, Japan*

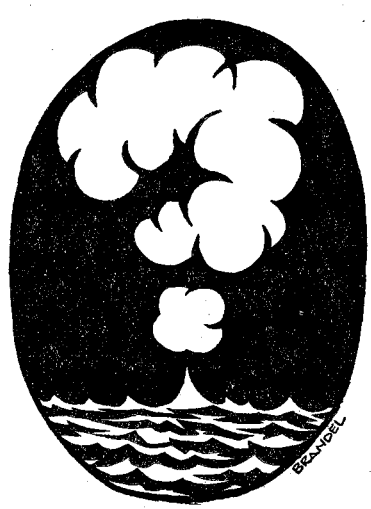
EARLY in March, 1954, we found a small article in a Japanese newspaper stating that on March 1 a thermonuclear test explosion had been conducted at Bikini; but only a few specialists in that field paid any particular attention to it. On the morning of March 16, we saw a big headline in the newspaper *Yomiuri* to the effect that a Japanese fishing boat called the *Fukuryu-Maru,* which had returned to the Japanese port of Yaizu two days previously, was found to have been showered by radioactive dust from an H-bomb test while operating about eighty miles east of Bikini, and that twenty-three of the crewmen were suffering from radiation sickness and some had had to be sent to the hospital. One has since died.

We were asked by the public-health department of the Osaka city government to examine the fish. We brought some samples to the laboratory; some were found to be emitting radiation at a rate of more than 10,000 counts per minute per square centimeter of the wet skin, at about two centimeters from the counter window. Subsequently we learned that some tuna emitting radiation at the rate of 6,000-10,000 counts per minute from the wet skin had already been sold in the market and about 200 people in Osaka prefecture were found to have eaten them.

A small amount of radiation occurs naturally and our counter registers about twenty counts per minute from this naturally occurring radiation: *the intensity of radiation to which I have referred is expressed as so many counts per minute above the natural count.*

We decided to go to Yaizu, which is about 150 miles from Osaka, to examine the radiation from the *Fukuryu-Maru* directly. At about thirty yards from the boat we could clearly detect the gamma rays and a few yards from the boat we found that measurements reached the top of the scale on our instrument. We felt it to be rather dangerous to enter the boat without any protection and so we retreated to put on rubber gloves and gauze masks as an emergency minimum protection.

We could not find any white powder on the deck, although it had been reported by the crew that so much powder had fallen on the boat that the deck had appeared entirely white. The deck had, however, been thoroughly washed and so we climbed on to the upper deck of the steering cabin, where we found some brownish dust mixed with a small amount of grayish-white powder.




Returning from the boat we found that our gauze masks were also emitting radiation. Judging from these findings, there is good reason to believe that the fishermen may have inhaled some radioactive dust, besides receiving external radiation and ingesting radioactive dust with food and water. On examination, we found that the following radioactive elements were included in the dust particles: strontium-89, strontium-90, barium-140, lanthanum-140, yttrium-90, cerium-144, praesodymium-144, iodine-132, iodine-131, and so on. When such radioactive dust touches the skin, severe radiation burns are caused by the dense ionization. When it gets into the body by inhalation or ingestion, radioactive strontium, calcium, and barium are deposited in the bones and will continue to emit radiation from the bones for some considerable time. It takes several months to several years before one-half of the amount deposited in bone is eliminated by the processes of metabolism. Therefore, the bone marrow is particularly likely to be severely injured. Radioactive iodine is deposited in the thyroid and may destroy its function.

The dose of radiation received is usually expressed by the product of the intensity of the radiation and its duration. Such radioactive elements as strontium-90 keep emitting radiation for a long time. The symptoms of radiation sickness may, therefore, sometimes appear after a long interval. In Hiroshima a girl who was three years old at the time of the atomic bombing suffered from radiation sickness when she was eleven and died the following year; that is, nine years after the bomb was dropped.

From measurement of the remaining radiation in the cabin of the boat it was estimated that the total dose of external radiation (mostly due to gamma rays) received by some of the seriously injured fish-



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ermen during the thirteen days of the voyage might have been almost as much as 300 to 400 roentgen. This is a dose of radiation which, if given to a group of experimental animals, would kill about half of them.

After the explosion of March 1, the test warning area was expanded to a circle 450 miles in radius, and it was subsequently announced that on March 26 and April 6 further bombs were exploded. The area in which radioactive fish were caught expanded gradually, and in the middle of May it was found that some of the fish which were caught 1,875 miles northwest of Bikini were strongly contaminated. Many of the boats that had been working in the South Pacific during the period of the H-bomb tests were also found to be contaminated. Some of the crew of these boats were found to have subnormal leukocyte counts.

On May 15 a Japanese radiation-survey boat, the *Shunkotsu-Maru*, was sent by the government to the South Pacific in order to find safe fishing grounds. The closer the boat approached the Bikini area the greater was the radioactive contamination. In this area many fish were found to be still highly radioactive even in the middle of June. From the liver of a Bonito which was caught on June 19 a radioactivity of 48,000 counts per minute per gram was detected. Minute forms of sea life on which larger fish feed were also found to be contaminated.

*It has been found that for man the lethal dose of "whole body irradiation" is of the order of 400-500 roentgen.—Bulletin, Medical Association for the Prevention of War.*

In the middle of May unusually radioactive rain fell all over Japan. In Kyoto a radioactivity of 86,000 counts per minute per liter was measured from the initial rainfall on May 16 and an average of about 4,000 counts per minute per liter was obtained from rain which fell on May 17; it was later confirmed that this radioactivity was again due to artificial elements (zirconium-94, niobium-95, strontium-89, barium-140).

After discussing our findings with meteorologists we concluded that the radioactive rainfall all over Japan was primarily due to atomic- or hydrogen-bomb explosions in the area of the South Pacific.

Following the unusually radioactive rainfall it was found, in various parts of Japan, that plants, vegetables, and milk were also contaminated. A small increase in radioactivity was observed in filtered tap water a few days after the fall of radioactive rain. On the mountains, on small isolated islands, and at some of the isolated meteorological stations in Japan the only source of drinking water is rain water. Some of the persons who had been drinking unfiltered rain water at the Muroto promontory meteorological station were found to have unusually low leucocyte counts and people were advised not to drink it directly. (*Yomiuri*, June 1.)

*Highly radioactive rain fell on Japan in September and October, 1954; the radioactivity is believed to have been derived from Soviet Union test explosions in the Arctic.—The London* Times.

Even in June and early July, considerable radioactivity could still be detected in the rain, and as late as July some fish caught in the South Pacific were also found to be radioactive. A report from Mr. Hessel Tiltman, Tokyo correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, said that the highest count to have been reported from a fish which reached the Tokyo market—6,010 from the skin and 18,542 from the fin—was registered at the end of July. (*Manchester Guardian*, August 3.) Even though the proportion of fish which had to be discarded was 1 per cent or less of all the fish examined, the fact that some continued to be contaminated created a serious public-health problem.

From the point of view of genetics it is important to keep the level of radiation to which a human population is exposed as close as is possible to the natural level. In this respect I would like to refer to an article on Mammalian Radiation Genetics by W. L. Russell, Biology Division, Oak Ridge National Laboratory. According to Dr. Russell, the genetic effects of exposure to radiation are of particular importance because they have several unique features:

1. Under certain conditions the breaking of a chromosome may occasionally heal and there is the remote possibility of a "reverse mutation" occurring, but, in general, there is no healing of the damage.

2. The damage is transmitted to descendants.

3. The damage is hidden for a long time before it becomes manifest—in the case of recessive mutations, for many generations.

4. There is no threshold dose. In other words, genetic changes may be expected at any dose, no matter how small.

This last point is particularly relevant to the drawing up of safety measures against the effects of radiation in human populations. If there is no threshold dose, then a so-called "tolerance" dose is not one which produces no genetic effect, but only one which does not add a "serious" increase to the effects that already occur as a result of natural radiation and other causes.

It is said that the American Atomic Energy Commission has set the permissible level for radioactive substances following the dropping of atomic or hydrogen bombs at a few thousand times larger than the level given in the handbook of the National Bureau of Standards of the United States. If we take the military point of view, from which some injuries to some persons may be considered unavoidable, we may obviously allow a much higher level for the "permissible" radioactivity. From the standpoint of medical science, however, every effort should be made to save even a single life.

Because of past bombings we have to assume that quite an appreciable proportion of the Japanese people have already received a considerable amount of radiation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Consequently, since at least some of the effects of radiation may be cumulative, the problem of repeated H-



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bomb tests may be more serious for the people of Japan than for the people of other countries. We therefore feel it our right and our duty and responsibility to appeal strongly

> *What is not a "serious" dose for an individual may be extremely serious when applied to a whole population. . . . The marriage of affected persons may produce . . . recessive mutations.—Bulletin, Medical Association for the Prevention of War.*

to all the people of the world, so that those who have not as yet experienced the tragedies produced should not suffer even greater damage in the future.

We feel that it is very important, however, not to confuse the campaign against nuclear weapons with anti-American feeling. The hatred of one group of people for another provides in itself an excuse for the production of weapons of mass destruction and for experimentation with them. It is certainly not the intention of the author that any part of this paper should be used for the purpose of intensifying hatred against any group of people.

SOME observers say that atomic and hydrogen bombs are nothing but the logical extension of the past "conventional" type of weapon and that to scare people unduly over the new weapons is not right. This idea is usually put forward by people who are trying to justify the use of these weapons. The author does not desire to scare people unduly, but it seems to be the correct attitude in treating any matter concerning human life to try to assess all the dangers which present knowledge suggests are possible.

The author wishes to point out the following possibilities concerning the use of atomic weapons:

1. Even the people of non-belligerent countries may be endangered by receiving a considerable amount of radioactive fall-out from heavy atomic or hydrogen bombing of neighboring countries.

2. The probability of having abnormal children may increase with the increase of exposure to radiation.

3. There is a danger of effects induced by radiation being transmitted to descendants. Thus even

# $E{:}mc^2$

I

Alone with an equation in a plain room, the moon pouring
protons
Pursuing truth in a lonely room, nuclei nibble his fingertips.
The moon washes the white page.

No roots suck life from the dead craters of the moon, no
tendrils tease that lifeless air.
In the moon's valleys no rills, pocked and parched her hills,
pitted like eyeless sockets.
And no brain thinks.

Einstein! Newton!
Einstein! Newton!

In a lonely room a pencil pours protons on a white page.

II

The answer is: dispersion.
Factories, hospitals, powerhouses, people, convents, banks,
garages, stock exchanges dispersed
To reduce vulnerability, thus making attack by fusion
uneconomical, therefore unattractive.
As buildings deteriorate, they must not be replaced but abandoned,
the residents evacuated.
The best design for a city threatened by fusion attack is the
following: a b c, x y z, 1 2 3.
We must proceed at once,
delay is fatal.
The necessary laws must be passed at once,
They must be rigidly enforced as soon as passed,
A vast program for education of the people must be undertaken
at once,
delay is fatal.

The President said.
The Commission said.
Bethe, Fermi, Oppenheimer said.
Bush, Conant. Baruch. A secretary and two Senators said.
I said:
I love my child's flesh so well
I would wish it to remain on my child's
arm
Unharmed. Unrent, unripped.
I love my wife well enough
To wish her well, alive.
Since my life is all I have to love my
child and wife with,
I love my life well enough to wish to
keep it.

III

Racine! Vermeer!
Protons pouring;
Reactors;
On quiet pages, detonation.
Night. Bright lie the sleeping barracks, the radar-wrapped
coasts.
Far out where the surf is born, a sub's eye forms its narrow
wake;
Below, the snub-nosed sub proposes destiny.
Bright, bright, bright rains the moon on the streaming decks,
and a lost gull screams
As from the launching platform soars the final trajectory;
In one fused and arching instant, the world's smoking end.

Milton! Newton! Leeuwenhoek!

MILTON SPEISER



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after the end of a war, the tragedies accruing from the reckless wartime use of nuclear weapons may not cease.

4. We have no guarantee that some type of nuclear bomb, even greater than that exploded on March 1 at Bikini, will not be produced in the future.

In view of these points, we see no reason why the prohibition of nuclear weapons should not be considered a logical extension of the past restrictions on bacterial warfare and poison gas.

During the last war some of our scientists, who were informed about the possibility of the successful construction of the atom bomb in the United States, had the impression that even if the bomb were made it would not be used. The war, however, ended with atomic bombing and it now seems likely that a future war would begin with the dropping of much more destructive hydrogen bombs unless action is immediately taken to prevent it. In the present situation, the abolition of nuclear weapons and the establishment of effective international control of atomic energy seems an almost impossible task for scientists, but these problems cannot be left unsolved indefinitely. They concern the future fate of human life, and their solution must be attained on the basis of international cooperation at the highest level.

# RESTIVE MALAYA

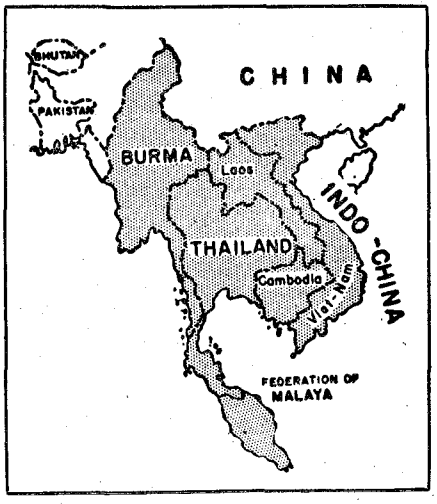
## Driving for Independence . . *by Sam A. Jaffe*

*Singapore*

THE recent violent death of United Press correspondent Gene Symonds made headlines in America, but here in Malaya the riot in which he was slain received scant notice. Death and insurrection have become commonplace in this British colony, both in the trackless green wastes that comprise four-fifths of Malaya and in the asphalt jungles of this steaming city.

Almost every month British patrols scour the nine states making up the Federation, tracking Communist terrorists. Seven years of such searches have resulted in the capture or killing of an estimated 10,700 terrorists and in the loss of 4,000 British soldiers. But the authorities admit that the numerical strength of the outlaws remains about the same as it was in June, 1948—between four and five thousand.

These marauders, 90 per cent of them Chinese, are scattered throughout Malaya's 53,240 square miles. They are cut off from any central command and each band operates on its own, making periodical raids on rubber plantations, rice fields, and tin mines, slaughtering the European owners and their families. Native villagers have been intimidated into supplying food and clothing and into refusing to cooperate with security forces. Recently, however, the aborigines of mountainous central Malaya have been provisioned and armed by the British. They form a valuable intelligence network and man ten jungle forts.




UNDER the emergency regulations, some 600,000 squatters, 85 per cent of whom are Chinese, were moved from all parts of Malaya to centrally located villages. The mass resettlement program was undertaken in March, 1950, and completed almost three years later. There is little doubt that the Government's action has helped its program against the Reds, but it has denied the squatters their civil rights. A representative of the Peoples' Action Party, a left-wing Malayan political organization, said at Bandung, where he came to champion Malayan independence, that the new villages were on the order of "concentration camps with barbed wire and strong arc lights which illuminate the site." He said that a curfew is imposed from 7 p. m. to 6 a. m., and that all persons leaving the camp are thoroughly searched by security forces. There are 486 of these camps in Malaya today.

The ceaseless patrols, the recruitment of natives, and the rupture of Communist lines of supply and command have reduced the number of mass killings considerably. In 1951, at the peak of terrorist activity, 500 such incidents occurred monthly. Today there are about fifty or sixty a month. Lieutenant General Geoffrey Bourne, who directs British security operations, expects a further weakening of the Red forces to result from the flight of their reputed leader, General Chin Peng. Chin, formerly secretary of the Malayan Communist Party, is believed to be hiding across the border in Thailand. His desertion from the field is being broadcast to terrorists by leaflets dropped in the jungles.

THE Communists declare that their tactics have been directed toward gaining independence for Malaya, but the result has been to provide the British with an excellent excuse for remaining. "How can we leave these people to be swallowed up by communism?" asked one colonial official. "We owe the Malays protec-

*SAM A. JAFFE is* The Nation's *roving correspondent in Asia.*



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tion. They'll get their self-government, but not before all the terrorists are removed."

But many Malays feel that only world opinion will force England to quit the peninsula. As one put it, "They got out of India, but Indian nationalism was strong and there was unity among the people. And, frankly speaking, England lost nothing materially when it gave India to the Indians. I wonder what the situation would have been if India had been a country rich in rubber and tin—I wonder if England would have given up so easily?"

Reinforcing Malayan cynicism is the fact that an estimated 80 per cent of the Federation's wealth is in British hands; despite the billions spent in recent years on jungle warfare, it remains a profitable possession. After more than a century of British rule, British efforts to prepare the natives for independence started late and have a great distance to go. There is no Malay institution of university standard, and only three high schools. The great majority of the six million people are illiterate fishermen and rice growers. The rising cost of living fans discontent and desire for home rule.

THE admixture of nationalities in Malaya further complicates the problem. The Chinese, who began migrating to the country in 1870, now hold substantial wealth and power. Their numbers have increased, and their sympathies in many cases lie with Red China. There is also a sizeable Indian minority, which adds to the difficulty of achieving unified expression of public sentiment.

However, when the British granted free elections in Singapore recently, the Chinese Malayan Association and the United Malay National Organization formed an alliance to gain dominance. They, as well as other political parties which drew support in a remarkably large turnout of voters, are committed to gaining independence.

The British say, however, that a majority of these parties have told them that, even when independence is achieved, Malaya would like to remain part of the Commonwealth, with the added guarantee that British forces remain in the country as protection. David Marshall, chief minister of Singapore, said, "There is no question in the mind of any reasonable person that we are undoubtedly on the road to independence at an early date and to self-government within four years." He asserted that delaying tactics on the issue would seriously prejudice the position of Singapore and its faith in the integrity of Britain, "but we must concentrate our energies on how best we can efficiently govern this territory when we get self-government."

# GEORGE OF GEORGIA

## The Talmadge Threat . . *by Malcolm Purcell*

*Thomson, Georgia*

IN GEORGIA the name of Talmadge is synonymous with politics; the name of George is synonymous with the United States Senate. It became definite that these two names will be merged in another of the tempestuous political campaigns for which this state is famous when Senator Walter F. George recently announced that he plans to stand for reelection in 1956. Former Governor Herman Talmadge, though unannounced, is considered a certain candidate for this post.

Editorial writers have speculated that George's early announcement—the primary is over a year away—is an attempt to halt rumors, circulated chiefly by Talmadge adherents, that his age and health were such that he would be forced to retire, thus allowing Governor Marvin Griffin, whom Talmadge supported last summer, to appoint the latter to George's seat in the Senate. Griffin has stated that he would hold hands off in case of a George-Talmadge race, but it will be remembered that Talmadge made a similar public statement regarding the gubernatorial campaign last summer.

Assuming the race to be only between George and Talmadge, it is a paradox that whichever is the winner in this solidly Democratic state, the Republicans in the Senate will profit. George, a strong conservative, has often voted with them in the past. Talmadge in a recent speech praised the proposed Bricker Amendment and criticized "dollar diplomacy," which apparently places him with the right-wing Bricker-Jenner section of the Republican Party.

Should Talmadge defeat George, he will accomplish something his father, the late Eugene Talmadge was unable to do in two tries. Gene was defeated by Senator Richard B. Russell in 1934 and by George in 1938. It would be easy to compare a Herman Talmadge-Walter George primary fight with the 1938 campaign, but the parallel would go no farther than the names. Then George was the target of the ill-timed "purge" of President Roosevelt, losing votes to the Roosevelt-sponsored entry, Lawrence Camp.

THIS time George, due to the recent legislative aid he has given President Eisenhower, should be able to count on the latter's influence with the so-called "Eisenhower Democrats" of Georgia. This group includes most of the banking interests and many of the biggest business corporations such as Coca-Cola and Georgia Power. It is significant that less than a week after his announcement, Senator George spoke before the annual meeting of the Georgia Bankers' Association. Most of the daily newspapers can also be

*MALCOLM PURCELL is a free-lance writer who has followed closely the Georgia political scene.*



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expected to back George all the way.

The friendship of business corporations can have its drawbacks for George. The support of this group has in the past caused the term of "corporation man" to be applied to him. Yet this group has also supported the Talmadges in many state races of the past. Some of them might decide that it is better to have a young man favorable to them in the Senate rather than one who is now seventy-seven years old. Strong support from Georgia Power could easily alienate the REA cooperatives, which are now fighting the utilities firm over power rights to Clark Hill Dam.

Senator George's long term of office—he has been in the Senate continuously since 1922—will be an asset on election day; his name has too long held respect in Georgia to be easily marked out. His position as president pro-tem of the Senate and chairman of the important Foreign Relations Committee will draw many voters.

Herman Talmadge has been described as the most powerful political influence in the state. This would seem to be verified by his quiet, behind-the-scenes role in last summer's Democratic primary for governor. His support of Governor Marvin Griffin was the determining factor in the race. Since one political favor calls for another in return, Griffin is expected to support Talmadge. As governor, that support can be considerable. This has a debit side; none of the four losing candidates in the same race are likely to forget their resentment of Talmadge's interference.

BIGGEST factor in Talmadge's bid for the Senate will be his close acquaintance with the road commissioners, ordinaries, and sheriffs of the state's 159 counties. Among these men the thought could easily arise that Talmadge, if defeated by George, might run for governor in 1958. If so he would be a strong favorite. Since being on the winning side in a governor's race is often a matter of life or death to local politicians, this could tend to throw many against George in the senatorial race.

The county-unit system, Georgia's method of holding Democratic primaries, will work to Talmadge's advantage. Both he and his father have

*Senator George*

profited by their popularity among the more sparsely populated counties, three of whose unit votes can cancel those of Atlanta's Fulton county with a population close to half a million.

It is inevitable that the question of segregation, regardless of the Supreme Court's final verdict, will receive more wordage during the campaign than any other matter. This has been true in every race either Gene or Herman has run in the past twenty-five years. At intervals as regular as Democratic primaries, Georgians have been "saved" from the "nigger" by Talmadges. Of course, Senator George will be for segregation too—in Georgia all politicians are—so it will not be a matter of pro and con; it will be a matter of who can shout the loudest.

Here it might be well to compare the younger Herman—he is 41—with his father. Gene was a politician unmatched at the art of swaying a crowd. When he loosened his collar, flipped that black forelock over his forehead, shucked his coat, and popped those red suspenders, the crowd was ready to yell itself hoarse even if he had simply recited Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf. Despite the possession of a law degree and a keenly intelligent mind, Gene used such terms as "plow a straight furrow" and "steppin' in high cotton" in order to identify himself with the average dirt farmer. It worked so well that he rarely lost a major agricultural county.

Herman's suspenders, you might say, are better tailored but only a shade less red than Gene's. He is a milder and not quite so flamboyant edition of his father. He does not have as much crowd appeal, yet is a smooth and powerful speaker. Where Gene might say from a platform, "I want you boys to elect my friend Charley Redwine governor," Herman says nothing publicly, but gets on the telephone and contacts local politicians.

While governor, Herman added to his prestige by his poised and competent manner on several national TV programs. He "showed them Yankees." This has tended to increase his support from among the swing group, those who in past elections often wavered. This gain offsets an odd and never completely explained fact—Herman has lost strength among the "wool-hat boys," the core of his father's political support.

ONE ACT of Talmadge as governor should, by all political standards, have worked strongly against him: the passage of a three per cent sales tax, despite his campaign promise to defeat it and despite the adverse vote of a state-wide referendum on this matter. The tax bill could hardly have passed the legislature without his support, however indirect. Oddly enough, there was little reaction. Perhaps this was because new revenues were obviously necessary and, for the average voter, the collection of the tax was relatively painless.

Considering that Talmadge became governor for his first short term with little more reason than that he bore his father's name, that he named his successor—something Gene failed to do—and that he placed a tax on Georgians which he campaigned against, it would seem that he is either extremely lucky or a consummate politician. Few Georgians subscribe to the first theory.

Politicians who aren't quite so fast to jump on the Talmadge bandwagon say Herman has never run against a strong opponent. His opposition both times was M. E. Thompson, whose losing race against Marvin Griffin last summer stamped him as somewhat weak. But right now, flipping a coin would be as wise as any other way of guessing whether or not, in 1957, there will be red suspenders in Washington.



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# BOOKS

## The Lesson of Hiroshima

*HIROSHIMA DIARY.* By Michihiko Hachiya. Translated and edited by Warner Wells. The University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

**By Tomie Mochizuki**

"HIROSHIMA DIARY," written by the director of the Communications Hospital in Hiroshima, is a day-to-day account of hospital life during the seven-week period immediately following the dropping of the atom bomb on August 6, 1945—exactly ten years ago. Originally published serially in a small Japanese medical journal of the Japanese Ministry of Communications, the diary came to the attention of Dr. Warner Wells, an American surgical consultant to the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in Hiroshima, who came to know and admire the Japanese physicians and to form an attachment to their patients—not just as medical cases, but as people.

In writing of this short but eventful period, Dr. Hachiya describes not only the physical devastation and the suffering of Hiroshima, but also his own gropings for its cause. For it was not until almost a week after the bomb fell that Dr. Hachiya learned the nature of the new weapon. The bombing had left Hiroshima without a transportation or communication system—in fact, it was not until September 1 that mail delivery was resumed, and not until ten days after that that the hospital lights were turned on again.

It is a moving tale of "the trust that helpless human beings put in the doctors and nurses who, could they know the truth, were as helpless as themselves." It is the inspiring story of a hospital director, himself a casualty, and his loyal, closely-knit staff who, with only a roof over their heads and almost no equipment and supplies, through sheer devotion to their profession plus a sorely needed sense of humor, guide their patients through the most terrifying period man has been called upon to face. The people of Hiroshima had lost the will and strength to live and had become "so broken and confused that they moved and behaved like automatons." Thus, an eyewitness of the bombing said: "When I asked [the refugees from the city] where they had come from, they would point toward Hiroshima and say, 'This way.' And when I asked where they were going, they would point toward Miyajima and say, 'That way.' Everybody said the same thing." And passages like the following weigh heavily upon the reader: ". . . The entire population had been reduced to a common level of physical and mental weakness. Long files of people holding stolidly to a narrow rough path when close by was a smooth, easy road going in the same direction. Outsiders, seeing, could not grasp the fact that they were witnessing the exodus of a people who walked in the realm of dreams."

Those who found their way to Dr. Hachiya's hospital found peace of mind if not alleviation from their physical suffering. Dr. Hachiya, despite his own serious injuries, proved to be not only a competent physician but, more important at the time, an amazingly capable healer of the spirit of man. As he puts it, "My rounds were hardly professional in the strict sense of the word because there was little I could do other than cheer this patient, encourage another, or make a little joke with a third." With a keen sense of observation, with deep feeling and a broad understanding of human nature, and in a delightfully unpretentious style Dr. Hachiya gives us a factual account of the destruction and suffering which followed the dropping of the bomb. His daily accounts of the progress of his patients make fascinating reading; on the other hand, there is nothing in the book so grisly as to repel the faint-hearted—though no one can expect to read about Hiroshima without being shocked at man's inhumanity to man.

When the bomb fell, the Commu-

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### The Moral Limits of War

**By A. J. Muste**

What shall we say as in memory we relive that August day ten years ago? It would be well if Americans would reflect on what they would have said had it been the Nazis, Fascists, Japanese militarists, or Communists who had dropped the bomb first. We didn't "have" to use the bomb. Nobody was in a position to bomb American soil. We didn't even have to use it to win the war. But we did.

This suggests the question as to whether there are moral limits beyond which war may not be carried—the question raised recently in a letter to the New York Times by the Indian philosopher Radhakrishnan. A very remarkable statement on this point was made by Edmond Taylor in his book, "Richer by Asia," published in 1947. Taylor had earlier attracted notice by his book about Nazism, "The Strategy of Terror." During World War II he served for a considerable time as head of the Planning Board of the Office of Strategic Services, and in the war's final year he was in charge of O. S. S. work in Southeast Asia. In "Richer by Asia," he asserted that "in dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki we had committed a crime against all nations comparable to the crimes for which the surviving leaders of Nazi Germany were hanged at Nuremberg." We had made ourselves, he wrote, "the ancestors of the end of the world as Cain, the first murderer, made himself the ancestor of all the murders which will ever be committed."

I am curious to know what Edmond Taylor thinks now. As Dr. Wells observes in the concluding sentence of his foreward to "Hiroshima Diary": "If we cannot enliven our humanity, we are doomed."

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nications Hospital had already been cleared of all patients, for the movements of nearby army units had convinced Dr. Hachiya that Hiroshima would not be defended in case of attack. Although located near the hypocenter, the hospital, by virtue of its strong, reinforced concrete construction, was only partially destroyed. Victims, hearing that the building was still functioning, streamed in from all directions, and before the first month was over more than 5,000 patients had received treatment there.

Until the first autopsy was performed on August 26, twenty days after the explosion, the cause of death in the hospital cases was unknown. "We thought that by giving treatment to those who were burned or injured, recovery would follow. But now it was obvious that this was not true. People who appeared to be recovering developed other symptoms that caused them to die. So many patients died without our understanding the cause of death that we were all in despair." The first autopsy showed changes in every organ of the body. It proved that "hemorrhage was the cause of death in all our cases. The extent and severity of petechiae (surface manifestations of hemorrhage) bore no relationship to the extent of hemorrhage in the internal organs. . . . The pathological picture of radiation sickness began to make sense."

For Japan, the period immediately following the surrender was a period of utter confusion and great change. Dr. Hachiya, with a very keen awareness of what was going on around him, paints an accurate picture of a nation lapsing into anarchy "at a time when unselfishness and good breeding were never so necessary." Thus he writes of his countrymen of that period: "With everything lost and no fear of losing more, they became desperate. . . . The drunken rampaging soldiers I saw . . . typified the present. The old proverbs 'Justice is strength' and 'Better is character than birth' were no longer applicable. . . . Character cannot be improved by education. . . . Education is a veneer, a plating. Educated or not, a man exposes his true character in time of stress, and the strong win."

Toward the end of September many American soldiers began visiting the hospitals. Dr. Hachiya's meetings with American officers are related with gentle humor. He could not speak English and the Americans knew no Japanese. But, he adds, "Though we could not speak the same tongue, we understood each other's feelings—there is no boundary where sympathy and understanding are present."

Dr. Hachiya closes his book by acknowledging the sympathetic understanding and assistance of two Americans among many with whom he had come in contact—Dr. Loge and Colonel Hall: ". . . These two doctors removed fear and hostility from our hearts and left us with a bright new hope. . . . When I think of the kindness of these people I think one can overlook thoughts of revenge; and even at this moment, I feel something warm in my heart when I recall those days and those friends."

"Hiroshima Diary" gives the average reader all the facts he should know about what happened in Hiroshima and in its subtle way acts as a reminder to each of us that it is our duty to see that this tragedy shall not be repeated. Even to one who lived through the war years in Japan this book left an impact which time will never erase.

# Masterpieces for Macy's

*DESIGNING FOR PEOPLE.* By Henry Dreyfuss. Simon and Schuster. $5.

**By Felix Augenfeld**

HENRY DREYFUSS is one of the four or five fabulous people in America who are constantly surrounded by objects they have seen taking shape on their own drawing boards. From early morning, when he may be awakened by his self-designed alarm clock, until late at night when he goes to bed—normally in a self-designed airplane—he cannot help seeing, touching, and using mass-produced conveniences created by himself and his organization. His work has affected the lives of millions of people. This situation, far from crushing him with the weight of his cultural responsibility, seems to make him happy. He feels that his and his colleagues' work is a successful contribution toward such great aims as making Americans "safer, more comfortable, more eager to purchase, or just plain happier." He is confident, perhaps rightly, that owing to the designer's well-directed efforts, people are bound to reach a higher level of health, tranquility, and serenity, and that their life span will be prolonged.

His book, besides being an eloquent statement of these beliefs, is a report on the rise and activities of his fantastic organization and an analysis of his approach to the many-sided problems the designer must face. It is also a description of his relationship to his clients, from his humble beginnings in 1929, when, having worked for a few years as a stage designer, he opened his first industrial-design office, to the days at the height of his career when million-dollar agreements with the giants of industry were scribbled on the back of an envelope over a luncheon table.

In his design philosophy Mr. Dreyfuss cannot be accused of an ivory-tower attitude. He has both feet firmly on the solid ground of sales figures. He frankly states that the only museums in which he cares to be represented are places like Macy's, Marshall Field, and the May Company. At some place in his book his definition comes dangerously close to the simple formula: what sells the best is good design. He admits to an obligation of being aware of what he terms the "sales moods" of the buying public. He gives himself slightly away by stating: "With the air full of jet planes, the public may be so conditioned to these sleek forms that it will accept or even seek out such forms translated into household appliances. We must make an evaluation of the extent of this conditioning process." Is this not to be understood as a disguised admission that in the face of the hard realities of a competitive business world the designer cannot always afford the luxury of aesthetic integrity?

A theoretical investigation of the

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extremely complex interrelationship between the sociological factors affecting the designer's work does not form part of this book. The word "consumer's preference," for instance, loaded as it is with controversial content, is used as if it were an easily defined term with a generally accepted meaning. "Preference" would presuppose "choice." In reality, since in mass-produced objects—at least within a certain price range—there is rarely any real consumer's choice, the term "preference" is an ambiguous one. "Acceptance" would be closer to the truth. But this acceptance is not strictly related to the aesthetic and functional merits of the designer's work. It is mostly enforced by a process of brainwashing, in which the magic of the designer's name, first created and then exploited by magazine publicity and by store-display tricks is one of the most powerful tools.

An example of how consumers' acceptance of even the most objectionable design can be enforced is given by the automobile industry. This embarrassing subject is touched on only briefly in Mr. Dreyfuss's book. He has a few harsh words—not harsh enough, in my opinion—for this saddest of all chapters in American industrial design. He disclaims personal responsibility for the latest developments in this area, and he hints delicately that the 1955 American car might not have turned out to be such a climax of flashy vulgarity if he had been given power to oppose the Detroit taste dictatorship. I am inclined to agree, but I cannot think of any real designer who would not feel the same way.

Mr. Dreyfuss's book breathes a healthy and vigorous optimism as well as a firm belief in the cultural significance of the designer's work. It is written with vitality and gusto, and it exudes confidence that life in America as shaped by the masters of the "science of appearance" like himself will be better and more comfortable than it is even today. One is not quite sure whether the quarter of a million miles of airplane travel which his efficient organization has totaled in one single year have been traveled only in the service of mankind, as Mr. Dreyfuss seems to like us to believe. But they have not been traveled in vain.

# Out of Hugo by Baudelaire

*MID-CENTURY FRENCH POETS.* Edited by Wallace Fowlie. Twayne Publishers. $4.50.

**By Serge Sobolevitch**

THE SALIENT feature of the last hundred years of French literature has been an extraordinary resurgence of poetry after almost two centuries of mediocrity enlivened only by the grand failure of the Romantics. In this latest addition to the "Mid-Century Poets" series, Wallace Fowlie presents selections from ten twentieth-century Frenchmen, introduced by short biographical and critical essays. A few of these writers, for instance Jean Cocteau, are already well known in this country; others have more talent and fewer press agents.

A specialist may quibble over these particular selections, but this is not a book for the specialist. It is meant for the American reader interested in modern French poetry, who will find here much concentrated information and sound criticism to help him place the poets in their proper perspective. The poems speak for themselves, in French and in English. Professor Fowlie's translations are accurate, without being too literal.

In his very perceptive historical introduction, Professor Fowlie quite rightly divides modern French poetry into two traditions, both transmuted out of Victor Hugo by Baudelaire: that of the "magicians" or "alchemists," the pure artists who learned their lesson from Mallarme, and that of the "visionaries" or "prophets," the explorers who expand the frontiers of reality, and who follow Rimbaud's lead. But one should not forget another of Hugo's legacies: the conception of the poet as a social and political observer. This conception, which once sent Hugo into exile, had long been prudently forgotten; it has now come back to inform the vision of the "prophets." Thus the surrealist Paul Eluard ironically titles two of his poems, What the Laborer Says Is Always Beside the Point (1926) and Victory of Guernica (1938):

> They made you pay for the bread
> The sky earth wat r sleep
> And the misery
> Of your life
>
> They claimed they wanted good minds
> They rationed the strong and judged the imbeciles
> Gave alms divided a penny in halves
> They bowed before corpses
> They vied in politeness
>
> They persevere they exaggerate they are not of our world.

It should be pointed out that the average age of the poets represented in this volume would be sixty-four if all were alive. While the authors are well established, numerous younger ones are active (many of whom are listed in the introduction); new reputations are being earned. French poetry continues to reflect the multiple facets of a complex culture in a complicated age, and displays a burning vitality that belies the decadence of French politics. "Mid-Century French Poets" constitutes an excellent introduction to the ever-growing treasure-house of modern poetry.

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### Temper of Time

An ill wind is stalking
while evil stars whir
and all the gold apples
go bad to the core.

Black birds of omen
now prowl on the bough
and the forest is littered
with bills that we owe.

Through closets of copses
tall skeletons walk
while nightshade and nettles
tangle the track.

In the ramshackle meadow
where Kilroy would pass
lurks the sickle-shaped shadow
of snake in the grass.

Approaching his cottage
by crooked detour
he hears the gruff knocking
of the wolf at the door.

His wife and his children
hang riddled with shot,
there's a hex on the cradle
and death in the pot.

SYLVIA PLATH



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## Books in Brief

### Journey Into Nightmare

*THE EMIGRANTS.* By George Lamming. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

THE emigration of West Indians to England has created pressures similar to those resulting from the influx of Puerto Ricans to the United States. In both cases the newcomers tend to concentrate in comparatively limited areas—London or New York. With different racial, social, and economic backgrounds the emigrants come up against barriers of prejudice and opportunism belying the "equal citizenship" they have been granted.

George Lamming, a young West Indian novelist now in the United States on a Guggenheim Fellowship, is rapidly establishing himself as the literary spokesman of his people. Avoiding the ponderous over-simplification of writers absorbed in a "problem," Mr. Lamming has provided a window into a difficult area of human relationships.

"The Emigrants" is the story of a group of West Indians who travel to England in search of a "better break." Restless in the backwaters of their native islands, educated to the point of dissatisfaction and bitterness, burdened by their own prejudices, they do not know what they will find. Their Odyssey takes on the bright non-meaning of a voyage into nightmare.

Mr. Lamming depends on free-swinging metaphor to carry the greatest part of his narrative, piling up image after image, color after color to the point where he appears to lose the direction of his novel. For long passages he uses frank and vivid sense impressions, only to turn suddenly into half-digested philosophy and awkward attempts at sophistication. The cumulative effect, however, is impressive—a novel which, despite lack of discipline, holds the reader's attention by its enormous energy and bursts of memorable insight.

### Making of an American

*ONE FOOT IN AMERICA. COWBOY ON A WOODEN HORSE.* By Yuri Suhl. Macmillan. $3.50 each.

Rereading "One Foot in America" after five years, one is bound to wonder if the initial enthusiasm evoked by this series of close-knit sketches was fully warranted. But Mr. Suhl's loving humor, his inability to patronize, his rejection of sentimentality give an affirmative answer. The story of Sol Kenner's arrival as a greenhorn in the twenties, his career as a butcher boy, his father's resolute refusal to let "goniff America" steal his piety is told so deftly and uncontrivedly that the reader is left with a warmth that lingers long after the book is closed. The proof of Mr. Suhl's accuracy of touch is to be found in the episode where young Sol participates in a kindly conspiracy to find his father a suitable second wife. The slightest unsureness on the author's part would have produced bathos or burlesque; both are dextrously avoided.

If "Cowboy on a Wooden Horse" falls a little below the standard set by "One Foot in America" the cause may be in the nature of sequels, which rarely manage to sustain the mood and compression of the initial work. Nevertheless, anyone reading "One Foot in America" must have unusual self-control not to pick up "Cowboy on a Wooden Horse."

### The Swamp of Security

*THE ACCIDENT.* By Dexter Masters. Knopf. $4.

This first novel by Dexter Masters is the finest work of fiction on super-science and super-secrecy in America. Mr. Masters brings extensive knowledge to his material and hurls a brilliant challenge at those who play power politics with the atom as trump.

"The Accident" makes fascinating but uncomfortable reading. The development of atomic power is dramatized vividly and is combined with the nightmare of atomic experimentation. For Masters, like the British novelist C. P. Snow, raises an issue that must chill the blood: he makes the charge that the atomic bombs dropped on Japan, which wiped out hundreds of thousands of human beings, were used because of military curiosity rather than military necessity.

The book comments bitterly on the swamp of security—useless because the products of science can remain "secret" only for brief periods and because any persistent and total security must inevitably cripple science itself. There is the new planning for new atomic wars, with the military pooh-bahs demanding obedience from the creative minds alone capable of understanding the alternatives involved. And the result is progressive horror—an "accident" which is really no accident at all but the climax of deliberately courted crises.

"The Accident" describes eight days at Los Alamos, the eight days it takes a young scientist to die after a lethal dose of radiation. Mr. Dexter's novel, however, extends beyonds these eight days to the very horizons


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of the destiny man has created for himself. "The Accident" is a much-needed antidote for the half-truths issued on atomic stockpiling, and the atomic muscle-flexing of military brass.

### The Doomed Ghetto

*THE HOUSE OF DOLLS.* By Katzetnik 135633. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

The mass slaughter perpetrated by the Germans during World War II no longer has the impact of recent sensation. The subject has been examined from a variety of positions, in a number of works of fiction and non-fiction. John Hersey's "The Wall" is perhaps the best known novel dealing with Nazi genocide. Hersey's picture, however, ultimately provides the release of action, of violence answering violence, thus for all its nightmarish detail, creates limited horror.

"The House of Dolls" deals not only with the doomed ghetto but with the "experiments" carried on by respectable German physicians, the three symbols of which are the crematorium, the scientific notebook, and the sexual pervert. The author commands resources of language far beyond the essentially journalistic writing of Hersey. Here is prose at once memorable and merciless, controlled and explosive. This novel, in a fine translation from the Hebrew by Moshe M. Kohn, records a degeneration of humanity the world has too soon forgotten.

# Films

## Robert Hatch

"MR. ROBERTS" on film proves—what has often been proved before—that it is not so easy to translate from stage to screen. In this case it would have been prudent to go back to the original novel for a script.

Instead, except for the addition of a lot of real salt water, the picture sticks close to the scenes that were possible on a stage. With unsatisfactory results, as follows: a group of long-monastic sailors stares in great agitation at some allurement suddenly discovered on shore. What have the fellows found? In the theater it is enough to be told that they have found some dames taking showers. But on the screen, such second-hand information does not satisfy; we also want to see the dames. Again, the crew is given liberty at an island apparently populated by Hollywood extras in Polynesian brown paint. The ship's company disappears pell-mell down the wharf and immediately returns, disarrayed, drunken, and in the custody of the military police. What happened back there in the palms? The MP's report that the boys invited themselves to a party and wrecked the joint. Why weren't we invited? It is a curse when the screen forgets its origins and the nature of its genius, and substitutes words for action.

The picture is also oddly uncertain of its own quality. From the antics that occupy most of the footage—the ship being flooded by soap suds, potted palms being flung over the side, nurses coming aboard in undersized uniforms to be greeted by hoots and whinnies, an exuberant mariner riding a stolen motorcycle off the end of the wharf—it appears that the purpose is farce. Farce has no villains, only butts for practical jokes, but James Cagney plays the hated captain of the supply ship *Reluctant* in a key of mean and cruel misery that chokes the laughs in your throat. Risen from the decks, he fears the scorn of the gentlemen among his officers; promoted beyond his deserts, he cannot handle the crew or the business of his ship. But he knows that the war is his one best chance and he intends to make the most of it. He means to make a record for himself and the crew is expendable to that end. You might easily decide to mutiny against such a man, but you would scarcely play boyish pranks on him. Did anyone ever pie the bed of Captain Bligh?

Perhaps on the stage the captain was a lay figure, but Cagney is not that sort of actor. He dominates the films he is in, and neither Henry Fonda nor William Powell—charming though they are—is a match for him. So, although I laughed at "Mr. Roberts," I laughed warily, wondering if Lord Jim was waiting for me in the next reel.

The picture is bathed in manly affection—a choked-up Y. M. C. A. affection that looks as though it might explode in a hair-pulling match. The atmosphere aboard the *Reluctant* is a good deal like that in a girls' dormitory, with everyone indulging a violent crush on Mr. Roberts. As he keeps saying, the boys certainly need some time on shore. What happens to a group of men cooped up in isolation is an interesting subject, but it lacks the lightheartedness of true slapstick. The trouble with "Mr. Roberts" is that it wants the best of both "Moby Dick" and "The Katzenjammer Kids." It is great good fun, if you don't mind getting a little sticky.

## Winter Juniper

Above these bleak Wyoming plains,
these high plateaus
where water seldom rises through the rock,
this twisting cedar grows.
Splitting through sharp and sandy grains
of buried cliffs, its fragrant seedlings mock
deep humus soils and rains.

Under a February sun
this cedar pricks
with waxed and polished stems the arid air,
pivots angular sticks,
quivers in western winds: they run
through and away. Here with such final care
its tortured life is done,

and done, and done again, until
the grained wood
spirals into a balance, a defense,
a grace. One night I stood
under the moon in a midnight chill,
caught in that alien axis, grown immense
in that green will.

JOSEPH LANGLAND



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# Records

## B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA ML-4996 offers three works commissioned by the Koussevitzky Music Foundation and recorded under its auspices by an orchestra conducted by Leonard Bernstein. Of these Edward Burlingame Hill's Prelude is a luxuriant exercise in a borrowed style of the past; but in the two fast movements of Lopatnikov's Concertino the continuous flow of toccata-like invention for the various instruments of the orchestra, in which their extraordinary energy embodies itself, gets to be very exciting; and the creative flow also produces the impressive invention of the slow movement in between, an "Elegietta" in memory of Mme. Natalie Koussevitzky. And in his "Tartiniana" for violin and orchestra Dallapiccola does what Stravinsky has done so many times—i.e., lets his mind play with thematic substance from the music of another composer, in this instance Tartini. In a booklet written by Dallapiccola's publisher we are told that "the attention of the composer has been fixed upon" the "thematic nuclei" of four sonata movements of Tartini; and Dallapiccola's application to these themes of his own devices of manipulation, his development of them in his own language, achieve writing that is fascinatingly put together, impressive, and at times moving. The Lopatnikov and Dallapiccola works call for virtuoso performance, which they get from the orchestra and the conductor. And the performances are superbly reproduced.

On the other hand Columbia ML-4992 offers William Schuman's Symphony No. 6, commissioned by the Dallas Symphony Orchestra League; and Piston's Symphony No. 4, commissioned for the Centennial Celebration of the University of Minnesota and recorded under the auspices of the Walter W. Naumburg Foundation. In neither work do I hear anything more than each composer's ability to make endless numbers of black marks on paper, of which the marks made by Piston are translated into sounds that are more coherent and more agreeable to the ear than Schuman's. Superb playing by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy.

Columbia also has issued a new group of records in its Modern American Music series, of which I can report on two. Samuel Barber's "Hermit Songs," sung by Leontyne Price on ML-4988, are, to my ears, only additional evidence of *his* ability to make endless numbers of black marks on paper, and Haieff's Quartet No. 1, played by the Juilliard Quartet, offers much expert manipulation of rhythm, sonority, and texture that communicates nothing to me, except in the brief and lovely final movement. Ruggles's "Portals" and "Lilacs," played by the Juilliard String Orchestra under Prausnitz, and his "Evocations" for piano, played by John Kirkpatrick, on ML-4986, remain obscure to me; and Cowell's facile "Toccanta," performed by Helen Boatwright, soprano, Carleton Sprague Smith, flute, Aldo Parisot, cello, and Mr. Kirkpatrick, says nothing of consequence.

Nor do I hear anything of greater consequence in Robert Ward's Symphony No. 3, recorded with the American Composers' Alliance by the Cincinnati Symphony under Thor Johnson on Remington R-199-185. And I fail to hear in Leon Stein's Three Hassidic Dances, on the same record, that the original thematic material gains anything from his overblown orchestral treatment of it.

I am unable at the moment to compare the Boyd Neel Orchestra's performances of the twelve Concerti Grossi Op. 6 of Handel on the three 12-inch records of London LLA-21 with the Boyd Neel performances previously issued on 10-inch records; but they seem to me to be the same—which is to say they are excellent performances of these fine works.

London LL-1199 offers Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 88 and 101 ("Clock") paced and shaped well by Muenchinger, with fine playing by the Vienna Philharmonic. But Muenchinger spoils Haydn's little joke in the trio of the minuet movement of No. 101 by correcting the "mistake" in harmony that Haydn wrote in so carefully.

The coarse performances of the Mendelssohn and Tchaikovsky Violin Concertos by Francescatti and the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulous on Columbia ML-4965 are something you can ignore.

What printer's errors prevented my saying in my July 16 article was that Horenstein, on Vox PL-9180, gave us a good performance of the entire Prokofiev Suite from "Chout," while Golschmann, on Capitol P-8257, omitted a few movements but offered playing by the St. Louis Symphony that had greater refinement of execution and sonority, and greater clarity and refinement of recorded sound.

# Theater

## Harold Clurman

ANYONE can stage a bad production of a Shakespeare play, and in our theater virtually everyone ambitious enough to try has succeeded in doing so. It should therefore surprise no one that the first production of the recently founded American Shakespeare Festival Theater at Stratford, Connecticut, is a wretched piece of work. I shall not review the production, because what is significant about it is not its badness, but the reason why it was doomed before the first rehearsal was called. The flaws were in thinking and theory—in approach.

Americans have created no style for the playing of Shakespeare, the directors of the new enterprise have said, because we have not trained any group of actors in Shakespearean *speech*. It is a crucial error to assume that the playing of Shakespeare is essentially a matter of speech. Certainly, the actor who undertakes a Shakespearean role should speak well—but this ought to obtain for all actors.

It is unfortunately true that in the past twenty-five years American actors have neglected their studies in voice and diction, have lost an



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awareness of beauty in spoken language. But this loss affects all of the theater, not merely the playing of Shakespeare. The fact that slovenly speech may be less distressing or noticeable in "Lunatics and Lovers" than it would be in a play by Congreve does not make sloppiness of speech acceptable in any play. Stanislavsky, whose Moscow Art Theater reached its characteristic style in the plays of Chekov, was as severe on the score of fine speech in these plays as in that of the more formal plays of his repertory.

MANY American actors in the 'teens laid so much stress on the "externals" of acting (carriage, diction, deportment, etc.), that they seemed ill prepared for the interpretative demands made by the plays of O'Neill and later on by those of Odets, Williams, Miller, etc. Because of these new plays, greater stress has lately been put on the psychological, emotional, "real-life" aspects of acting. But most of us now understand—if we never did before—that undue emphasis on either aspect of acting—"inner" or "outer"—to the detriment of the other must cause a fatal distortion. The actor needs sensibility, observation, imagination, as well as an expressive body, a good voice, an ear for language. In so far as he is deficient in any of these respects, he is a deficient actor—for all plays.

Shakespeare wrote *plays*—not exercises in speech. Plays have to be acted—not recited. Every play contains an idea, a world view, a specific quality of feeling, a weight and an impulse, in a word, a nature of its own—of which plot, characterization, movements, atmosphere, and language form an organic whole. It is the function of a company of actors (under a director) to find the core and to form the theatrical body of each specific play in a specific way, so as to move the audience with the stirring vision of life which the play is supposed to convey.

In the Stratford, Connecticut, production of "Julius Caesar" the setting—so the program informs us—aims to reproduce the Elizabethan picture of Rome as the historians and artists of that period conceived it. Why was this approach chosen? Is the play intended as an archaeological study? Does the play have some relevance for us now or is it simply an essay in scholarship? Why the Elizabethan costumes? (I leave aside the fact that even as such they are cumbersome and unsightly). Do the sets and costumes help the actors convey a sense of the play's basic structure, drama, or human validity? There is no reason for doing Shakespeare on the stage today unless he is to mean more rather than less than the good "commercial" play.

"Julius Caesar" at Stratford, Connecticut, is a misbegotten effort not because the actors don't speak well (generally, their speech is not bad) but because even if they all were to speak like gods or at least like Gielgud, Redgrave, Olivier, etc.—the

# Religious Advertisements Reviewed In Brief

**Religious and Economic Problems Related Intimately. — Denial of Connection Blasphemy.**—We have seen that the One-God religion arose out of a great struggle between the forces of social justice and the forces of social injustice. On the one side, Jehovah, represented by the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. And on the other side, Baal, represented by prophets coming mostly from the cities.

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**General Public Today Losing Interest In Severe, Individualistic Deity.** —The outrage perpetrated upon Social Monotheism in the Roman empire and subsequently is at length reaching its logical result: The reduced, non-social, individualistic form of monotheism is failing to hold the lay element from which the churches always have been recruited. The general subject is dealt with in three circulars, available without charge if stamps are forwarded to cover mailing costs. No. 1, "Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History." No. 2, "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God." No. 3, "An Approach to Our Underlying Economic Problems." Nine cents in stamps, postage on all three circulars. Clip to card in envelope, with name and address, Sealed, first class. Also return address on outside of envelope. No letter necessary.—To prevent misunderstanding, note that no circulars will be forwarded if no stamps are sent.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.



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production would still be less than commonplace, because it has no creative idea: the play is not seen freshly as something which possesses an immediately exciting substance. There is little point of discussing Shakespeare apropos of this production because in the last analysis there is no play there at all.

IN LONDON, I recently saw "Henry IV"—Parts I and II, at the Old Vic. The production was not remarkable for its "originality," the acting was not "great," but the play was given with a conviction, a zest, a kinship to the dramatist's overwhelming abundance. It was the "wow" of the season. And years ago, was not Orson Welles's "Julius Caesar," for all its lack of fundamental coherence, a grand show because so many scenes reflected the sparkle of an alert mind and a vivid theater sense. These are some of the things needed for the successful performance of Shakespeare. They are present in some of the productions in Stratford, Canada, where neither the actors nor the director are specifically trained "Shakespeareans." And I have seen wonderfully alive Shakespearean productions in Europe where English was not spoken at all —so that I couldn't judge the speech! One realized, however, that one was confronting the greatest dramatic genius of all time.

## Off The Editor's Spike

(*Continued From Inside Cover*)

striking down some of these vexatious oaths, but it will be years before the final restructions have been removed. Recently the London Economist estimated that one out of every ten American citizens lives today under the shadow of having executed a test oath of some type. Fortunately a direct attack is now being made, in the proceedings instituted by Max Schachtman on behalf of the Independent Socialist League, on the constitutionality of the "listing" procedure.

• Once again the Department of Justice's unscrupulous use of "confidential informants" has been sharply criticized, this time in a sizzling opinion by Judge James W. Morris of the District Court in Washington. The opinion was handed down in a case in which Judge Morris reversed the Board of Immigration Appeals which had ordered the deportation of a couple, with three American-born children, on the basis of anonymous hearsay accusations. "To say that these plaintiffs," to quote from Judge Morris' opinion, "the parents of three American-born children, should be deported, which also means in effect the deportation of such American children, upon the basis of 'confidential information' which may be no more than anonymous hearsay rumors, or even by unexplained membership in some organization listed by the Attorney General as subversive, is to deny that the government is competent to function in such fashion as to give everyone with whom the government deals the right to know upon what basis such action is taken."

Yet it is precisely this right that has been denied to William Henry Taylor, an employee of the International Monetary Fund. After innumerable hearings and investigations, Taylor has been found to be a loyalty risk by the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board. Not yet satisfied, the board proceeded to find that Taylor had been guilty of espionage. In other words, the board in effect convicted an American citizen of a major criminal offense without due process. Taylor's counsel has never had a chance to cross-examine his principal accuser, Elizabeth Bentley. Moreover the board accepted the unsworn testimony of unidentified witnesses against Taylor's sworn testimony. None of these unidentified witnesses was presented for cross-examination. Four grand juries heard the same evidence and none of them indicted Taylor. Fortunately the board's decision is not binding on his employers, the International Monetary Fund, but so far as Mr. Taylor is concerned, the damage is almost beyond repair. As his counsel points out, the decision is "unbelievable" but it is nevertheless quite understandable. The Department of Justice, under Mr. Brownell, simply cannot afford to have Elizabeth Bentley's testimony tested in court, even if this means that another person must be indirectly convicted of espionage without due process of law.

C. McW.

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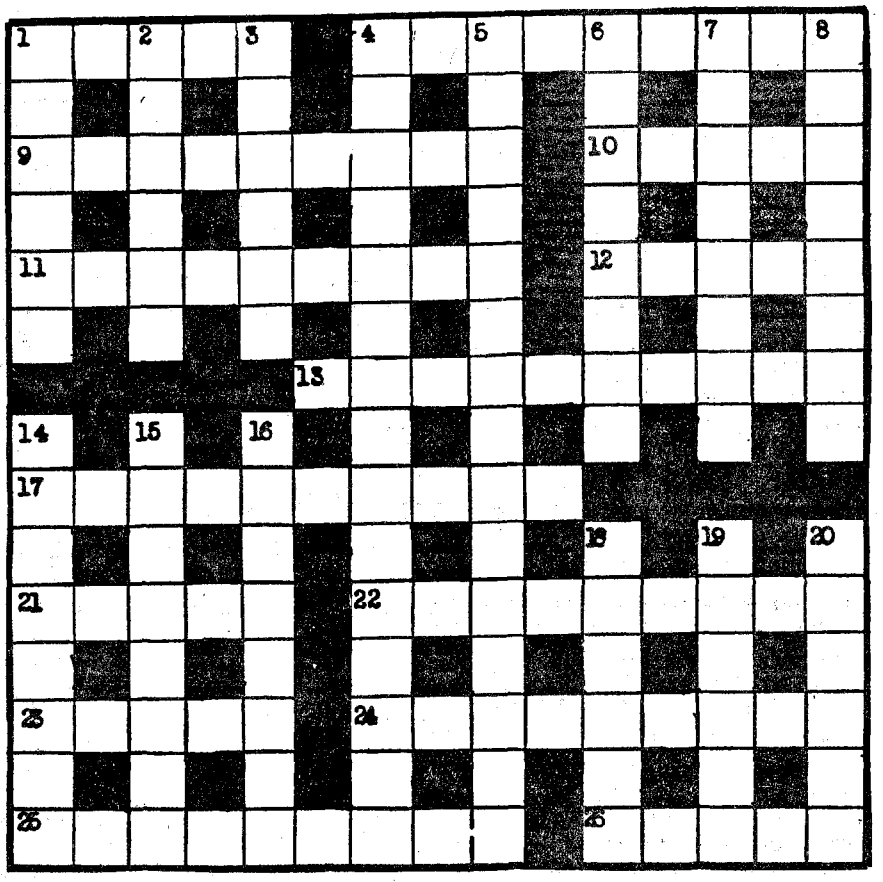
# Crossword Puzzle No. 631

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Everything ends with an exclamation. (5)

4 Called? (5,4)

9 The way to contain a spasm, once. (9)

10 This sort of thing is usually dark, but not always. (5)

11 Not to be trusted, because it's in a sort of rein. (9)

12 Trim. (5)

13 One-time art in the Little Theater? (10)

17 Cow I'd get detailed about. (10)

21 In the country of the lower Urals. (5)

22 It's difficult to speak impertinently! (4,5)

23 Thick up in the bean. (5)

24 You might see it in court, but last to first it's early. (4,5)

25 Stirs as it stirs writers. (9)

26 Put up with this sap, and you'll have a broken-down nag. (5)

## DOWN

1 Vinegary. (6)

2 Tree insect? (6)

3 Makes a quiet noise about an alternative for us all. (6)

4 The moving of dead spots? (9,6)

5 Do they hold our attention when robed? (6,9)

6 Do they stick on the baseball team? (8)

7 If feathers are it, get a variety. (8)

8 Understandings may be sort of seen about canvas. (8)

14 A sign of desire is changed by it. (8)

15 What even the most famous actor must return to? (8)

16 He could be sure, in a way. (8)

18 Evidently I stop things like this on the weather map. (6)

19 Are they accurate pitchers? (6)

20 Both of us have a range of sight and fade away. (6)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 630

ACROSS: 1, 19, 8 down, 14 down ORANGES AND LEMONS SAY THE BELLS OF ST. CLEMENTS; 6, 13 and 3 down WHAT PRICE GLORY; 10 BARROOM; 11 EXECUTE; 12 LANYARDS; 17 IMPARTIAL; 21 GECKO; 23 MINCE; 24 DIATRIBE; 27 NECKLET; 28 TOURNEY; 29 STEP; 30 SHOREDITCH. DOWN: 1 ORBS; 2 ACREAGE; 4 ST. MARTINS; 5 NEEDS; 7 HOUDINI; 9 LEAP FROG; 16 TENDERLY; 18 PAYMASTER; 20 MONOCLE; 22 CABINET; 24 and 15 DUTCH TREAT; 25 ROUND; 26 MYTH.

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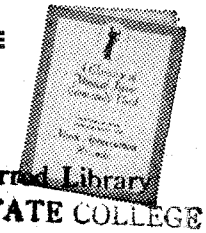

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